SPIRIT OF THE PRESS.

EDITORIAL OFINIONS OF THE LEADING JOURNALS UPON CURRENT TOPICS-COMPILED BYERY DAY FOR THE EVENING TELEGRAPH.

Our Terms are Unconditional Surrender.

From the N. Y. Tribune.

Loud and de-p are the curses hurled from the defeated and broken ranks of the Demooracy at those leaders who, foreseeing the final defeat a few hours in advance, have struck for the rear, launching th ir Parthian arrows in their flight, not at the common foe, but at their own commanders. The World and National Intelligencer have announced to the Democratic party their approaching disaster, and in this they have acted the part of true prophets. But the Democracy seek not true prophets, but Democratic prophets. "It is time enough," they argue, "to find out our defeat on the day after election." It will be fortunate if they do not, like the Hindoo Brahmin, crush the instrument which reveals to them what their religion forbids them to know. The mistake made by the World and Intelligencer lies in supposing that the nomination of Blair on a revolutionary platform is a mere accident of the campaign, which might have been avoided. So far from this, it spoke the inevitable logic of the Democratic situa-

Two courses only were open to the Demo-cratic Convention. It would accept recon-struction on the basis of universal suffrage, and nominate Chase, or it would proclaim its purpose to overturn it and nominate Seymour and Blair. In the former case our Republican principles would have triumphed in the nomination. In the latter, they triumph over the nomination. For to adopt equal political rights, as they must have done with Chase, is to surrender Democratic prejudices to Republican principles. This would have merged and destroyed the Democratic party as an antinegro party. It would have been a clearer victory of Republican principles, even had Chase been elected, than we can now gain in the election of Grant. It is surely a greater triumph to see your views accepted by your antagonist than to "thrash" him because he opposes them. The Convention did not nominate Chase and accept equal political rights for all men, because their prejudices opposed both the man and the doctrine. The few who had no convictions and cared only for success would have been satisfied with Chase. But a lie so so palpable, had it been perpetrated, would have split the Convention. No! The Democratic party is held together by a common impulse to despise and wrong the negro. To sever this bond is to convert the party to Republicanism. We were willing that this should have been done by the nomination of Chase. We would gladly see it done now. It would do more than anything else could do to settle old issues and give us peace.

But the majority of the Democratic party meant then, and mean now, to overturn and reverse Reconstruction if they can. Mr. Blair told them truly that against the Republican majorities of three-fourths in both Houses of Congress they could not lawfully overturn the Southern State Governments. The President must usurp the power to do so by military force. He was right, so far as he went, and the Convention saw it. Therefore, they nominated him. If he had gone further and shown that no Democratic President whom they could possibly elect would be able to use an army commanded by Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas, for such a purpose, they would have hooted him out of the Convention. Yet General Blair might as easily have proved that the Democracy could not have succeeded by war as that they could not succeed without war.

In fact, they had come to a point where their only policy was unconditional surrender. If they nominated Chase they would have Nominating surrendered their principles. Seymour they surrender the election. Electing Seymour they must surrender their policy or fight. Fighting, they would have to sur-render at the end of the fight. Whichever way the Democracy turned, therefore, there was no course open but surrender or fraud. They have tried fraud heavily, energetically, courageously. But still they remain, like Buckner at Donelson, like Pemberton at Vicksburg, like Lee at Appomattox, face to face with the calm, unconquerable majesty of the American people, impersonated in General Grant. A voice, inexorable as fate, says to them: - "I have no terms but unconditional surrender. I propose to move immediately on your works. Let us have peace."

The Dreadful Blairs.

From the N. Y. Herald. The Blairs have much to answer for if half that is said of them be true. They assisted Van Buren in 1848 in organizing the disruption of the old Democratic party; they assisted in organizing the Republican party; they got Frank into Congress and Montgomery into Lincoln's Cabinet as Republicans; but the radicals got Frank out of Congress and Montgomery out of the Cabinet, and from that point we find them returning to the Democratic church. Now from the Manhattan Club it is proclaimed that General Frank Bisir, the Democratic candidate for Vice-President, was the fatal mistake of the Tammany Convention; that his Brodhead letter has knocked all the late elections wrong side up; that in roping in Wade Hampton and all the Southern Rebel leaders as expounders of the Democratic faith this Marplot Blair has flattened out Seymour flat as a pancake; that Blair is the Jonah who has brought the storm upon the ship, and that he must go overboard; but that, to make all sure, Seymour must walk the plank likewise, and another captain and mate must be appointed. Rank mutiny in the midst of a hurricane. Is this the way to save the drifting ship?

Advice Gratis.

From the N. Y. Evening Fost.

The Democratic leaders are in difficultiesand no wonder. They have been very foolish-They made a platform as bad as it could be: and then they put on it two candidates who were sure to be defeated on any platform-even on such a half and-half one as Mr. Seymour would have made with the assistance of

Being in difficulties, seeing defeat staring them in the face, the Democratic leaders are auxiously easting about for some means to achieve victory. They propose to get rid of those "impediments to success," Seymour and Blair, and to nominate two new men. This seems to us a step, or part of a step, in the right direction. We think it wise in the Demoerats to abandon Seymour and Blair.

But much still depends upon the persons they nominate in the place of these castaway politicians. It would be of little use for the Democratic leaders to nominate two other men of the same character as those they are about to send adrift. It would not help them, even to nominate a couple of obscure politi cians of the Pierce kind; for they have but three weeks left in which to rapair their machine and set it fairly going; and it would require more than three weeks to thoroughly advertise two unknown candidates.

We have never been hard on the Demograts. and we will now take pity on them and give them some sound advice in their distress. It

is true they have not, of late years, treated | bers of good people who need to have it said | having been concocted by the enemies of the the advice of the Evening Fost with the respect | to them several times yet. A dog or a horse | blacks for the purpose of rendering the billot the advice of the Evening Fost with the respect which we believe it to deserve. But in times of adversity men sometimes come to their senses, and it may occur to some of the Democratic leaders, without an ungracious reminder from ourselves, that they began to lose elec-tions as soon as they ceased to regard the ad-vice of the Evening Post. If they have gone from bad to worse during the last thirteen years, it is a singular coincidence, to say the least, that during that whole period they have persisted in opposition to our oft-repeated and kindly-meant counsels.

Our present advice to the Democratic leaders, then, is that they nominate, in place of Seymour and Blair, the two best and most popular men now before the American people Of course we mean Grant and Colfax. Let the Democratic Committee meet at once, as is proposed, and let them nominate, without delay, Grant and Colfax. They can elect these candidates beyond a doubt; and thus they will be able to "snatch victory out of the jaws of defeat."

Of course, when they nominate Grant and Colfax they will abandon their present revo-lutionary platform; for it would be absurd for them to attempt to put patriotic, law-respect-ing citizens upon that platform. We were at first inclined to advise them, while they were about it, to adopt also the platform on which Grant and Colfax at present stand. But it occurs to us that they can do better. They are in great straits; they must do something decisive, to avoid a most disastrous and dis-

graceful defeat. We advise the Democratic leaders, then, to set to work and improve the Grant-Colfax platform. They would do well, we think, to add to it a clause or section insisting upon impartial suffrage everywhere, and laying this down as a cardinal point of the Democratic faith in every State. The Republican platform means this, and is understood to mean it; but we believe the Democrats, hard pressed as they are, would make a wise stroke if they would say it, in the plainest and most unmistakable words; if they would put their party upon this ground in every

Nor is this all. They would do well to insist upon the payment of the interest and principal of the national debt in gold and silver coin. The Republican platform promises this too; but in words which, while well understood, are yet not so forcible as the simple and unmistakable words "gold and silver."

Of course, in nominating Grant and Colfax, the Democratic leaders would adopt the Reconstruction acts; they see clearly, now that it is almost too late, that one of the things which has brought them to their present ruin is the denunciation, in their present platform, of those acts. The leading Democratic organ on Saturday morning devoted a column to an attempt to explain away the reconstruction plank in the present platform and the Blair letter. But such attempts are only a waste of precious time. It will not do to fling away even a day of the three weeks which still remain before the election; and if Blair is to be put away as an impediment, it would be absurd to retain his pet doctrine of revolution.

Whatever the Demogratic leaders do must of course be done quickly; we do not mean to thrust our advice upon them, but if they reject it they will live to repent their blunder. It is not too late yet for them to elect their candidates; but their success will depend entirely upon their nominating Grant and Colfox. That is the only card left them to play.

Negro Tactics at the South. From the N. Y. Nation.

The appeal of the colored members who

have been expelled from the Georgia Legislature to Congress for redress, the legal aspect of which we shall discuss at another time, suggests some considerations touching the al and social future of the colored lation at the South which they and their friends everywhere would do well to meditate. Nobody, we feel sure, thinks the election of General Grant more important than we think We feel satisfied that the preservation of order and security-that is, of the very basis on which civil society rests-depends upon the maintenance of the public credit upon it, and the extinction of the revolutionary hopes and passions bred by the war depends upon it. But it will not do to count too much on it. It will do much, as much as the lawless habits of the Southern population will permit, to protect the negro from open violence. hops and believe that we shall not, after Grant's election, see, as we have seen lately, sheriffs heading mobs of "citizens" to break up radical meetings, or United States military officers condemned to death for putting down riots, by judges and juries composed of the rioters. But Grant's election will not protect the colored population from fraud and chicane: from the partiality of judges, the laxity or supineness of sheriffs or policemen, or the indifference or contempt of legislators about interests which happen to be in a greater degree those of the black man those of the white man. For things the American political furnishes only one remedy, that is the ballot. It is folly to suppose that hereafter, when the social and political machine at the South has resumed its regular working, it will do for the negroes to run to Congress for assistance in rectilying defects in State legislation or the administration of the State governments, or to hope that Congress will interfere. The period of possible Congressional interference is rapidly passing away. in another year the chances are that Congress will be able to do nothing at the South which it could not do in New York or Ohio. The whole Union will once more have fallen under the common rule, and any class at the South which finds the local government oppressive or indifferent to its interests-as local governments can always be in a hundred ways withont violating any provision of the State or Federal Constitution-will have to seek relief as any class here which thinks itself oppressed seeks it-the Germans, for instance, under the Excise law-by the use of its That it was the intention of Congress and of the Republican party that it should be the ultimate resource of the Southern negroes there is no sort of doubt. What Congress meant to say to them when it established the Freedmen's Bureau and admitted the colored population to the franchise was, that whatever was special and peculiar in this legislation was intended to assist the freedmen during the four or five years of transition from slavery to freedom; but, their rights once firmly established, and a fair knowledge of

else—the ballot. Now, the ballot, as has been often said, is not a panacea; nor is it a magic sword, like Excalibur. Its value as a political weapon depends largely, like the musket, on the skill of the man who uses it. To accomplish anything with it in politics men have to think and talk and organize and combine and compromise and wait, and it is in this thinking and talking and organizing and combining and compromising preparatory to voting, and not in the physical act of depositing the ballot in the box, that the political training of the franchise consists. And no one need think us too rudimentary in saying this, for there are num-

them and of their duties once acquired, they

were to have nothing to look to for protection

but what poor men have to look to everywhere

might go the polls and drop a piece of paper into a round hole; but to drop a piece of paper into the hole with a well-understood object agreed upon beforeband with others, and with distinct perception of the possible results, is the act of a man; and until the main body of the negroes are able to do this the ballot will only be a very imperfect protection against such oppression as Congress can do nothing to prevent. Take, for instance, the recent act of the Georgia Legislature obliging all parties to use voting tickets of uniform size and color. The negroes who cannot read, or read only imperfectly, have hitherto been guided in their voting by tickets of a peculiar color, or bearing some easily understood device. The object of this enactment, therefore, clearly is to confuse them and facilitate frauds upon them, and that it will facilitate frauds upon them there is not a particle of doubt. But it is not unconstitutional; it applies alike to all. There is no remedy for it except education, which is a slow one, or the defeat at the polls of such candidates or parties as show themselves ready to join in schemes of this sort for the oppression, direct or indirect, of one class of the population. This last is the only punishment known here for legislative sins; and there will soon be none other possible at It must be remembered, too, that in this

game of chicane the whites will long, if not always, have the upper hand, even if the number of the two races were more nearly equal. The negroes must not forget that, in spite of the intelligence which large numbers of them are showing, and which we hope the great body of them will show before long, and in spite of the progress they are making in education, they are matched, in any strife they may carry on with their white neighbors, against the shrewdest, wariest, most energetic race on earth, that which has carried the political art to the highest perfection, and which is most skilful in its use, whether for offense or defense.

Now, the negroes are certainly in every State but three in a minority, and for all practical political purposes in a small minority. It is safe to say they can never hope to win a victory at the polls in any Southern State, after the next year or two, by the negro vote alone. Not only are they in a minority too, but they are a minority composed of a detested and despised race; and they are poor, uninfluential, and without political experience. With the whole body of the whites, or even a large proportion of the whites, arrayed against them, their position is probably more unfortunate than that of any class of persons in any civilized State in the world-a great deal more unfortunate, we have no hesitation in saying, than that of the Turkish rayahs, over whose condition all Europe is constantly lamenting. We know very well that there is a school of politiclans, of which Wendell Phillips might with some modification be taken as the type, which believes that by some tremendous crushing process all this white hate and prejudice against the blacks could be ground out; but these gentlemen are readier with vituperation than with plans, and they have never yet given to the world their scheme in detail. Suffice it to say, that to make the negro safe and comfortable by force alone would require an army of 300,000 men, the complete suspension of his political education, and the substitution of military for civil government over one-half the continent for an indefinite period. The expadiency or possibility of this we shall not discuss, although we would have heartily welcomed such a prolongation of the existing military rule as would have helped to break u; Southern habits of violence and the habit of looking on the negro as a wild animal.

It is plain, therefore, that for the negro to make the ballot of much use to him, to make t instrumental in protecting himself against legislative chicane and maladministration directed against his race, he must in some way divide the whites so as to throw the balance into his hands, and make it an object of some considerable body of the whites court the negro vote. We do not pretend, in saying this, to be propounding any grand original discovery. The danger to the blacks of a union of the whites against them, or, in other words, of a color division of political parties at the South, has long been apparent. The blacks have been frequently warned against it by Northern Democrats and conservative Republicans; but these warnings have produced no effect, because they were uttered in deprecation of resistance to intole rable oppression. There are limits to the price which the negroes can afford to pay even for a division in the ranks of their oppressors. Much as one may value a man's cooperation or sympathy, there are few of us who would submit to be kicked down stairs or garroted in order to secure it. The negroes have had to stand and show fight, stand as a race-that is, as negroes against whites-until they got the ballot, because the sole political question at the South during the period of reconstruction was whether negroes should be allowed anything but the right to follow the lowest and most laborious callings; and on this question there was for a black man no room for compromise. He could compromise about a claim to property or to political privileges; but about a white mau's claim to murder him or burn the house over his head with impunity, unless another white man saw and was willing to testify against the criminal, or about a negro's right to choose his own calling and follow it, there was no room for compromise. There are certain things about which men ought to be willing to kill or be killed instead of talking, and the civil rights which the Southern legislators depied the freedmen after the war were among the number.

But that period has now passed away. The black man has the ballot, but finds himself in a minority, and finds the forms of law still used for his oppression, and must win over to his side, if not through sympathy or humanity, then through interest, enough of the whites to give him, at great orises at least, the opportunity of influencing the Govern-The way to do this is to refrain as far as possible from stimulating white prejudices and arousing white passions, to avoid every step or measure that is likely to unite the whites as whites against the blacks. This may be done without sacrificing anything of real value, without diminishing by one jots the black man's material comforts or means of moral or intellectual progress-by simply keeping quiet, and working hard the accumulation of property and the diffusion of education; or, words, in the attainment of the two things which, in our day, make men respectable, and in which the blacks are, of course, still fearfully wanting. Their right to free speech, and to protection for person and property, they must, of course, assert; but their asserting it temperately and firmly will not only not alienate, but will, in the long run, win the sympathy of the best portion of the white population all over the Union. Such measures as the Social Equality bill, however, which Governor Warmouth has just vetoed in Louisiana, in which an attempt is made to secure by legislation things which lose their whole value in being made the result of legislation, and the attempt to enforce which exasperates the whites, and unites them politically as whites, really wear the air either of

worthless to them, and making the question of white versus black the only question of South-ern politics for all coming time, or of having been devised by some political wild ass in au outburst of animal spirits. It will be a great and noble thing to see the white children of the South sent to the same schools as the black, owing to the indifference of their parents to color distinctions. That will be a great triumph of civilization and Christianity. It will be also most gratifying to the states man and philanthropist to see a colored man's admission to hotels, the dress circle at the opera, and "good society" anywhere, depen dent solely on his ability to pay his way, his decent behavior, and on his manuers and education. But the spectacle which the Louisiana radicals want to furnish us, of white children forced to go to the same schools with colored children, leaving their fathers at home loading their pistols and whetting their knives for the slaughter of "niggers," curses on their lips and bitterness in their hearts, and of blacks making their way into hotels under the protection of the police, well knowing that every white man in the house wants to kick them out, and because of their appearance hates the black race worse than ever, is a spectacle which nobody who desires a peaceful settlement of Southern troubles could look at without dismay, and which nobody who has not a strong infusion of the devil's love of mischief in his composition can see with pleasure.

The Rising of the Democracy. From the N. Y. World.

The events of the last few days have made n anifest to the Democracy, and to its enemies as well, the determined, the indomitable spirit with which it faces the contest soon to be waged, not in four States only, but from the centre of the republic to its verge; the invincible courage with which it rises on the very morrow of a defeat: and the ardor with which it closes up its ranks, repairs its lines, makes solid its columns, and demands of its statesmen, its chosen leaders, that they point the way to victory.

So far is the spirit of our people from being east down, so far are their hearts from being dismayed with the dread of a repetition in November of the adverse result of the October elections, that there rises up with an unani mous and unforced accord from every rank and every column of our gallant hosts the voice of an invincible courage, proclaiming their confidence that victory can and shall be theirs.

But an army without leadership is a helpless mob, no matter how gallant may be every soldier in its files. The Democratic hosts stand serene and indomitable, looking to their chosen and trusted leader for the new order of battle which shall marshal them to a triumphant day and a not inglorious future. It is the business of leaders to lead. It is

never so much the duty of statesmen to be statesmen as when a majority of the people demand, and a large majority of the people do demand, that they shall be so marshalled and so led as to assure the victory which belongs to them: so marshalled and so led as to put to rout and utterly destroy the revolutionists and the usurpers who have brought the structure of the Government to its present chaos, and all our present calamities upon a free and prosperous people.

The crisis is supreme. But the hearts of the Democracy do not fail them. They stand steadfast, conscious of the fateful issues which hang trembling upon the hour, and await the inspiring voice and the authentic word.

National Resources-The Waste of War. From the N. Y. World. We printed, on Saturday morning, a curious

and valuable investigation, by Mr. Samuel J. filden, of a problem which lies quite out of the beaten paths of political discussion, but has, nevertheless, a close bearing on some of the chief questions which occupy the attention of politicians.

The Republican sophists pretend that the country has been getting rich and growing prosperous during the war. This is one of the delusions which collapse at Mr. Tilden's touch. One of his many illustrations is the value of dwellings. The buildings of one sort and another which exist in the country form quite a large portion of its wealth. In the cities and villages they constitute a large bulk of the property, and even in the agricultural dis-tricts, the houses, barns, and fences probably equal the value of the land. Are these, in the aggregate, better or worse than before the war? The question is not as to their comparative money value, which is deceptive, but as to their number and quality. Such property, left to itself, constantly deteriorates until it sinks into dilapidation; its value is kept up only by constant replacements and repairs. During the war this kind of improvements was almost totally neglected in the rural districts, and greatly retarded in the cities. The conseuences are apparent in enormous rents for inferior accommodations. The deterioration of this kind of property is an item left out in the flattering calculations of the optimists. Its money value is doubtless greater than before the war, but if that be a proof of prosperity famine is better than plenty, and there is more water in a besieged city when it becomes so scarce that a dipperful is worth its weight in silver. Houses have trebled in price on the same principle.

Another of Mr. Tilden's points is a comparion of the live stock of the country in 1860 with the present number of the same animals. The consumption and destruction during the war, especially of horses and neat cattle, was enermous, and has not yet been made up. We are poorer not only by the diminished number, but by the lost product of their labor. We refer to these topics merely as specimens of Mr. 'rilden's modes of investigaion, and of the curious problems he raises and solves. He does not lead his hearers through any old ruts, and although his discussion has none of the interest of fervent declamation and what are called flights of oratory, which would be out of place, the lack is compensated by elements which powerfully stimulate the curiosity of intelligent minds.

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